

No 10. 1

SERMON

Preach'd before the
HOUSE of LORDS,
AT THE ^{4476. 22. 2}
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ABBEY-CHURCH
IN
WESTMINSTER,

On Monday, November the 5th, 1705.

By the Right Reverend Father in God, *William*
Wake Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*.

Mat. vii. 15, 16.

*Beware of False Prophets, which come to you in
Sheep's Cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening
Wolves; Ye shall know them by their Fruits.*

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(21)
Mat. vii. 15, 16.

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I HAVE already taken occasion, upon a former Return of this Solemnity, (a) to discourse upon the *Subject Matter* of these Words. I have shewn Who the *False Prophets* here spoken of are; And What the *Fruits* by which we are directed, or rather commanded to discover Them. That by the former we are to understand not so much Those who *preach another Gospel*; whether different from, or contrary to the Gospel of Christ; as Those whom St. Peter, expounding the very Word of the *Texts*, calls *False Teachers*, (2 Pet. ii. 1.) and tells us, should one Day rise up in the Church of Christ, and *privily bring in damnable Heresies*. And as for the *Latter*, The *Fruits* whereby we may know them, that they are of two kinds; Their (b) *Doctrine*, (c) and their *Practices*: The *Principles* which They profess; and the Natural *Effect* of those *Principles* upon the Manners and Actions of Those who receive Them, and conduct themselves by the Measures of Them. That by These, as we easily may; so it is not only our *Right*, but our *Duty*, to Try and to be BEWARE of *False Prophets*. It is our *Right* as we are Men, endued with Reason, and therefore not to be led blindfold, in a Matter of the highest Concern to Us, either against Reason, or without it. It is our *Duty* as We are *Christians*; furnish'd with sufficient Means to know what the true *Faith* and *Doctrine* of Christ is, and Oblig'd to follow it; and Caution'd to Beware of such as would draw us off from it: Beloved, says St. John, *Believe not every Spirit, but Try the Spirits whether they are of God; because many False Prophets are gone out into the World*, 1 John iv. 1.

Having thus establish'd not only our *Right*, but our *Duty*, in this Particular, from the *Authority* of the *Text*; I next proceed from the *Solemnity* of the *Day*, to make that particular Application, which I was oblig'd to do of it. I shew'd what the *Doctrine* of the Church of Rome is, with Respect to Those who differ from it; and how Scandalous and Unchristian her *Treatment* of Them has been. That according to the *One*, they ought neither to be Pitied of Men, nor Pardoned by God: Neither to have any Mercy shewn Them in this World, nor any Hope left them in the World which is to come. And as for the *Other*, Their *Behaviour* towards them; that it has fully come up to, I had almost said, and even exceeded, Their very *Principles* in Cruelty and Inhumanity. That They have ransaked Sea and Land for Tortures, to wreak their Malice and Hatred against Them. That Prisons, and Gallies, and Dungeons have been the *Habitation*; The Stake, the Wheel, and the Gibbet, the *Portion* of Christ's Disciples under *Papish*; no less than under *Pagan* Tyranny. And what Labours, what Watchings, what Fastings; what Cold and Nakedness; To speak all in one Word, what Tryals, worse than Death, They have undergone, before They have been admitted to the Benefit

(a) *Sermon upon the 5th of November, printed An. 1699.* (b) 1 Tim. 19, 20. 2 Tim. 2. 17, 18. Titus 3. 10. 1 Jo. 4. 1, 2. 2 Jo. 7. 10. (c) Acts 20. 29, 2 Tim. 3. 2, &c. Tit. 1. 11. 16. 2 Pet. 2. 3. 10. Jud. 8. 11.

of Dying, the numerous Accounts that have been publish'd of their Sufferings abundantly inform Us.

Such is the *Doctrine*, such has been the *Practice*; and we have good Reason to believe, that such will ever be the *Behaviour* of Those of the Church of Rome, toward Us of the Reformed Religion. The *Conspiracy of this Day*, how black and detestable soever it may appear, and no doubt deserves to be reputed by Us, was but the Natural Result of their known Principles, and a true Image of their inward Sentiments and Affections towards Us. By *This* They would have sent the whole Representative Body of the Realm quick into Hell: And by *Those* They do Declare, That as *Hereticks*, and Enemies to Their Doctrine and Authority, We all ought, by any Means, to be dispatch'd Thither.

And now what can We conclude from these Premises, so plain and so instructive, but that if We have any Regard, either to the Truth of the Gospel, or to our Own Security (and sure one would think We should have some Regard to Both) We ought, in the Word of my Text, to *BEWARE* of such *False Prophets*. This our Saviour directs; our Religion requires; and the Natural Principle of Self-preservation recommends it to Us. To return either Their Malice or Violence upon Them, is, I hope, as far from our Desires, as I am sure, it is contrary to our Doctrine. But to secure our Selves against their Attempts; to Watch and Stand upon our Guard, and not suffer such furious Zealots to Break in upon Us and Devour Us, is as Prudent as it is Innocent: Both our Duty and our Interest, oblige Us so to do.

Now to *Beware of False Prophets*, may, in general, denote these Two Things. Either,

First, To have a Care of their *Doctrine*, that We be not Seduced, or Ensnared by That. Or,

Secondly, To Guard our Selves against their *Attempts*; that We be not Overtaken, and Destroy'd by Those.

The *Former* of These will, I think, admit but of little Difficulty. For however some among Us have of late endeavour'd to represent *Papery* in a fairer Dress that either its Errors will allow, or their own Profession should have taught them to do: Yet, when all is done, so contrary is the whole *System* of that Religion, not only to some particular Principles, but to the very Nature and Design of *Christianity*; that 'tis impossible for any One who has attain'd to any competent Knowledge of the One, ever to be deceiv'd or perverted by the Other.

Was it one great End of the Gospel to destroy *Idolatry*, and to bring Us both to the Knowledge and Worship of the only true God, and his Son Jesus Christ our Lord? How then can the *Papist* justify either his Faith or his Worship, in restoring again the *Pagan* Superstition under a *Christian* Dress? By the Use and Adoration of the *Cross*, and other *Images*? By the Veneration which He pays to *Saints* and *Angels*? By introducing Other *Mediators* besides Christ? And Going to God by Them, no less, than I do not say more frequently, than by Him?

Does the Gospel set out to Us but One Sacrifice of Christ, once offered for sin? Does it teach Us that by that One Sacrifice (a) He has perfected for ever them that are Sanctified? That (b) without shedding of Blood there can be no Remission. And, that (c) Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more.

(a) Heb. 10. 14. (b) Heb. 9. 22. (c) Rom. 6. 9.

Death hath no more Dominion over him? Let the *Papist* tell us How this can possibly be reconciled with his Daily *Sacrifice of the Mass*? Which He affirms not only to be a (d) *true and proper propitiatory Sacrifice*; but as such continually Offers it up to God for the Sins and Satisfaction both of the Dead, and of the Living.

Was it the Great Design of the Gospel to engage Men to (e) *live pure and holy Lives here*, as the only Means of being Happy hereafter? Has it declar'd *Repentance for Sin*, to be the necessary Condition of God's Forgiveness? And that *Repentance* consists in an *Actual Conversion* from a State of *Sin*, to a State of *Piety and Obedience*? But what can be more contrary to All this, than the *Romish Doctrines of Confession and Absolution*? Of the pretended Efficacy of *Masses, Pardons, and Indulgences*? Of a *Purgatory after Death*, wherein to expiate such Sins as were not sufficiently cleans'd before? And of ten thousand Artifices which they have found out to deliver a Sinner out of *Purgatory* too, by such Methods as have as little Reason, as they have Religion in Them.

Has the Gospel declared our Blessed Lord to be (f) *Head of his Body the Church*? How then does the *Pope* lay Claim to that Character, and to the Authority derived from it? Has it prescribed the Use of (g) *Two outward Rites only*, which we call *Sacraments*, and promis'd an Inward Spiritual Grace to the Religious Use of them? Why then does the *Papist* not only enjoin the Use, but require the like Belief of *Five more*? Did our Saviour in the Celebration of One of These expressly Command Us (h) *to Drink of the Cup of Blessing*, as well as to *Eat of the Hallowed and Mystical Bread*? With what Confidence does the (i) *Romanist* forbid the *Christian Communicant* not only to *Drink* of it, but even to *believe* that He Lies under any *Obligation* so to do?

And what shall I say more? For the Time would fail me to speak * of that great Foundation of Innumerable other Corruptions, their Doctrine of *Traditions*: * Of the *Publick Service of the Church in an Unknown Tongue*: * Of the *Merits of Good Works*: * Of the *Satisfactions of their Saints*: * Of the Extensive Power of their *Pope and Church*: * Of their Scandalous, yet allow'd Principles, with Respect not only to such Other Persons whom they account *Schismatics and Hereticks*, but towards *Kings and Princes*, nay towards *Principalities and Countries*; Often devoted by their *Bulls* to Destruction, and sometimes Assaulted, Invaded, and Murdered, in pursuance of their Sentences against Mhem.

If these be Evangelical Doctrines and Practices, let the *Church of Rome* be what She so much desires, *The Catholick, nay The Only Catholick Church*? And let Us rather be no *Christians* than such *Catholicks*. But if such *Doctrines* as These can no more be reconciled with the *Truth of the Gospel*, than such *Practices* can be justify'd by the *Precepts* of it; I may then venture to Conclude, that no One who knows any thing as he ought of his Holy Profession, can ever be in danger of being seduced by such notorious Corruptions; Or will need much to be Caution'd, in this respect, to *Beware of these False Prophets*.

(d) *Concil. Trident. Sess. xxii. can. 1. 3.* (e) *Tir. 2. 11, &c.* (f) *Ephes. 1. 22, 23.* (g) *Mat. 28. 19. Mar. 26. 26, &c. Comp. 1 Cor. 11. 22.* (h) *Mat. 26. 27.* (i) *Concil. Trident. Sess. xxi. can. 1. 2.*

But much greater is the Danger, *Secondly*, in the Other Sense of the Word, and a more present Concern to Us; I mean to *Guard our Selves against their Attempts*. It will require all our Care; and try not only our highest Prudence, but our utmost Vigilance too, in this Sense, to *BEWARE* of Them: The want of which has sometimes been fatal to the greatest Princes; Who have suffered the *Viper* quietly to insinuate himself into their Bosomes, and would not be convinc'd of their Danger, till they felt his Sting in their Hearts. This was eminently the Case of *Henry the IIIrd* and *Henry the IVth* of France; and may abundantly convince Us, how little Reason We have to trust to their Pretensions, when such mighty Princes, and of their own Communion too, have been sacrificed by Them, only for shewing some more Favour to those of the Reformed Religion, than They thought it became Them to Do.

It is therefore beyond all Doubt, that whether We consider Their *Principles*, or Their *Practices*, We have just reason to *BEWARE* of these *False Prophets*. The only Question is, How far we ought to extend our Caution? And, what Kind of Security it will behove Us to require of them?

May We treat with Them as with *Other Men*, with *Citizens*, with *Christians*? And their *Honour*, their *Promises*, or (which are wont to be sacred even with *Turks* and *Infidels*) their very *Oaths*, for our Security?

Or must we deal with Them in what concerns the Business of Religion, as with *Men of no Faith*, and *Enemies to Humane Society*: And never account our Selves to be sufficiently guarded against their Attempts; but while We are Armed with Power either to prevent, or to punish their Perfidiousness.

I am not unsensible how ungrateful a Subject I am about to enter upon: What Offence it will be sure to give to those whose Designs I would hereby awaken you (if possible) to *BEWARE* of: And how little Satisfaction it may (perhaps) afford to some Others, who either do not so well know these Men and their Religion, as they ought: or are not so Apprehensive of the Danger We are in from Both, as it were to be wished They would be. But 'tis a Service I owe to my Religion, and to my Country: And I will so manage the Debate, as to Offer nothing to you but what their *Own Books* declare to be their *Principles*; and I shall be able from the Authority of the Best *Historians*, to prove has been their *Practice*.

To come then freely to the Point; I do conceive that to secure Us in the Profession of our *Reformed Religion*, and in the Enjoyment of those *Rights*, that *Power*, and *Authority*, by which it is now happily Established among Us, We ought not to treat with *Those* of the *Church of Rome*, as with *Other Men*; with *Fellow Citizens*, or *Fellow Christians*. That their *Truth*, their *Promises*, nay their very *Oaths*, in this Case, are not to be rely'd upon by Us. Their *Principles* caution Us not to trust Them; and their *Actions* shew that there is no Dependence to be made upon Them.

For, *First*, To begin with that, which though it may seem to be the lowest Tie, is yet such a Principle upon which the general Ground of Confidence between Man and Man is Establish'd; that where Peace, and Society, are entertain'd; but much more, where Love and Kindness are profess'd; Where there is neither any Open Enmity declar'd, nor so much as any Suspicion given of any Secret Grudge or Rancour in the Heart; but, on the contrary, all is easy and quiet, kind and friendly towards each Other, Every One is to presume that He is secure: That the Persons with whom he Corresponds mean Him

no Harm, nor (till some just Occasion be given for it) will do Him any Prejudice, whether in his Goods, Reputation, or (which is of the greatest Consequence to every Man in this World) in his Body and Life. How weak a Defense is this against the many standing *Sentences*, as well as *Open Declarations*, of the *Romish Church*, against Those whom They account *Hereticks*? Who, as such, are solemnly once (*) at least every Year *Excommunicated by Them*? Whom all (a) *Princes and Magistrates* of their *Communion*, are obliged to *Punish* and *Extirpate out of their Dominions*? With whom they have determined that *No Faith is to be kept*? And against whom tho' the Execution of these *Penalties* is understood to be suspended where they want (b) *Power or Opportunity* to put Them in Practice; yet as soon as the Impediment is removed, Their *Obligation* returns; and They are required to break through all *Ties of Love, Relation, and even Common Humanity* it self; as they will escape the *Censure* of being thought (c) *Favourers of Hereticks*: A Crime the next in *Danger*, and being little inferiour in *Guilt*, to that of being *Themselves Hereticks*.

Let me for Proof of this appeal to the Horrid Treachery of the *Bartholomew Massacre*, in a Neighbouring Kingdom; (d) contrived at a Meeting of Pleasure and Gallantry; and executed at a time not only of Publick Peace and Concord, but of the nearest Alliance, and under a Solemn Treaty of Faith and Security. (e) Never did the *Court of France* carry it fairer, to all Appear-

(*) Thursday in *Passion-Week*, *Cap. Excommunicamus, xiii. de Hereticis*. (a) *Cap. Excommunic. §. moneantur de Hereticis Vid. pl. Tit. vii. de Hereticis*. (b) See *Facultat. Concess. Ann. 1580. Execution for Treason, p. 19. With Heart's Confession, ibid. p. 21.* (c) *Cap. Excommunicamus, §. Credentes. De Hæreticis*. (d) *D'Aubigne, Hist. Univ. An. 1565. Col. 292.* (e) It is evident from the French Historians, that both the Peace with the Protestants, and the Marriage of the King of Navarre, were purposely concerted for the Destruction of the Reformed. Thuanus indeed speaks of this with some Reserve, lib. xlv. p. 545. yet He reports so many previous Intimations and Discoveries of their Designs, lib. lii. as plainly shews, that the true End both of the Peace and Marriage, was only to get the Protestants into their Power, that so they might at once rid themselves of Them. But other Historians are more Open. Father Bussieres speaks plainly, lib. xx. that the last Peace was made with the Reformed, on purpose to catch Them the more easily by Treachery, and destroy Them. He tells us, That a Secret Council was chosen to concert the Measures of it. And that the King, tho' so young, was admirably instructed by his Mother, to dissemble with them. To this Varillas agrees: *Vie de Charles IX. lib. viii. p. 368, &c. lib. 9. p. 412, 437.* Nor does Mezeray think it improbable. *Ad An. 1570. And the Memoirs de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX. Vol. 1. give such Proofs of it, as put it beyond all Doubt. Two Days after the Massacre, the King went to a Mass of Thanksgiving, and then in open Court Own'd the Ordering of it; and was complimented by the President and others upon it. Medals were struck in Memory of it: And upon August the 28th an Extraordinary Jubilee was kept in Paris, with Processions for the same. Memoirs. p. 422, 426. 510, 511. Mezeray ad An. 1572. At Rome the Pope went in Procession to Saint Lewis's Church, to give Thanks to God for it. In Spain, the Representation of it was Solemniz'd before the King, under the Title of*

The Triumph of the Church Militant, Mezeray *ibid.* From all which it appears, that this abominable Treachery and Massacre, was generally approv'd by Those of the Roman Communion.

ance, towards the Reformed, than at this Season. The Great Admiral Coligny, as he was commonly call'd by the King his Father; so did He seem to be no less respected by Him. The King of Navarre was now by Marriage, as well as Descent, become One of the nearest Princes of the Blood. All was dispos'd to Love and Joy, Kindness and Affection towards each Other. Nothing thought of but the Festival Celebrations of a Marriage, which was to put a final End to any farther Contests about Religion. When behold, in the Height of all this Trust and Security, the Brave Coligny was first wounded in the Street, and before He had time to recover his Hurt, basely Oppress'd and Murder'd in his Chamber: The Protestants, naked and unprepar'd, were every where pursued by Armed Men; and in defiance of all Humanity, as well as contrary to all the Laws of Civil Society, were Assaulted, Pursued, Butchered where-ever they could be found. The very King of Navarre, with the Prince of Condé his Brother, tho' so nearly Allied to the Royal Family, hardly escaped; (a) being forced to sacrifice their Consciences to save their Lives. Such was their Catholick Justice and Mercy. And so little can we rely upon their Pretences of Peace or Fidelity when the Sacred Interest of the Church requires them to treat Us as Infidels and Hereticks!

But why do I trouble you with Instances from Abroad, when our own Country, and the Return of this Day furnishes me with so Memorable an Example at Home. When King James the First came to the Crown, the Papists were so far from being persecuted for their Religion, that his Majesty openly declared to his (b) Parliament his Opinion against It. So high were they raised in their Expectations from Him, as publickly to (c) Petition for a Toleration: And One main Argument from whence they pretended to deserve it was; That they were by their Principles Good Englishmen, and Faithful Subjects; and therefore fit to be Encouraged, as well as Protected, by the Government.

I am unwilling to believe (d) tho' there is but too much ground to suspect it, That at the very same Time they thus boasted of their Duty to the King, and Affection to their Country, they were contriving the utter Ruin of Both. This is Certain, that it was about that very Time this Horrid (e) Conspiracy was form'd, which should at once have sacrificed both the King and his Parliament, to their unchristian Fury; and had it taken Effect, would have put the whole Nation into a most dangerous Convulsion. With such little Truth, or rather with such a Treacherous Appearance of Duty and Honesty, which they never meant, did they profess their Loyalty to their Prince, their Love and Tendernefs to their Country and their Fellow-Subjects!

(a) See Buffieres Hist. Gall. lib. xx. p. 119, 120. Mezeray *ad An.* 1572. Varillas Vie de Charles IX. lib. ix. p. 474. Popliniere lib. xx. p. 67. D'Aubigne, *Torn.* ii. lib. 1. Col. 6. (b) See the King's Speech to this first Parliament. (c) See their Petition, *An.* 1604. p. 7, &c. (d) See Foulis Hist. of Popish Treasons, Pref. p. 3. Casaub. 624. *ad Front. Duc.* p. 752, 753. (e) See Winter's Confession; which carries it back to Lent, *Ann.* 1603, Catesby and Wright having before been consulting about it.

Let me observe yet one thing more: In that *Parliament* many there were of their *Own Religion*, who, had the *Blow* been given, must have been overwhelmed in the same Ruin with their Enemies. This some of a more scrupulous Temper, not yet quite divested of all Humanity, stumbled at. But the hardned (a) *Jesuit* soon determined the Matter; and resolved, that for the Good of the *Church*, Better it were that some of their Friends should perish, than that their Enemies should escape the Destruction they had prepared for them.

To this Unprosperous Attempt under the *Father*, let me add another Instance, no less Bloody, but more fatally successful; under the *Son*; I mean the *Irish Massacre*: One of the most Inhumane Butcheries that ever any People were guilty of; and which had the least Provocation to atone for the Barbarity of it. (b) The *Papists* enjoy'd both their Religion and Liberties in great Tranquility. Their Priests executed their Functions as quietly, and almost as publickly, as those of the *Establish'd Church*. They were united with the *Protestants* in the nearest Bands of Neighbourhood, Friendship, and Relation: They were admitted freely into the Magistracy, without any *Oath of Supremacy* to restrain them: And to all Appearance were as Easy and Contented as it became Them, and they had all the Reason in the World to be.

And yet in these Circumstances, and without the least Provocation either from the People or Government, a general Massacre was contrived by them. And so well did they succeed in it, that, if we may take their own Account, they, in three Months time, murdered no less than 154000 *Protestants*, against all the *Laws of Nature*, and *Civil Society*; I should have added *Religion* too, but that I will not so far prophane the Name of *Religion* as to suppose they had any regard to That in what they did.

I might multiply more Instances of the like kind, to confirm what I have I am now to prove; but I am straightned in Time, and must not enlarge. These may suffice to shew, *How little we of the Reformed Religion can, with any Safety, depend upon the Common Faith or Friendship of those of the Other Communion, when it shall be for the Interest of their Church to Ruin and Destroy Us.*

But, zely, What the *Laws of mere Humanity*, therefore, cannot Oblige Them to, the *Duties of Religion* may: And even a *Papist* may be tied by his *Solemn Promise*, or *Oath*, tho' not by the Ordinary Bonds of *Society* or *Friendship*. In Other Matters perhaps he may be; In the Concern of Religion I doubt he cannot: And that, among Others, upon these following Accounts.

First, That we can never be sure of what He does *Promise* or *Swear* in such a Case: We may understand his Words, and yet not reach his Meaning: But when we imagine we have Him the most secure, He may smile to think how credulous we are, and how finely he has deceived Us with a few fair Words which signify just nothing; nor will lay any Restraint at all upon Him. Such is the Power of a well menaged *Equivocation*! * A Doctrine al-

(a) *Father Garnet*. (b) See Sir Rich. Cox's *Hist. of Ireland*, Vol. 2. p. 72, &c.

* *Vid. Epist. Casaub. 124. ad Front. Duc. p. 763, 764, 765. And Soto allows it to be lawful to Equivocate in Words, if the Person be forcibly obliget to Swear, when of right He ought not to be compell'd to it. De Just. & Jur. l. 8. q. 1. art. 7, Others extend it to Propositions also, As Sylvester quoted by Soto, l. c. &c.*

owed, and practised, by some of the Greatest Members of that Church, but especially Those of our Own Country : And how shall We be sure that They whom we treat with, do not deal with Us upon the Measures of it ?

Now an *Equivocation* may be of two kinds ; Either in *Words*, or in *Propositions*. Let us briefly take a View of both, that so we may the better see what Masters they are in this new Art of Fraud and Deceit.

To *Equivocate* in *Words*, is to understand the Terms in which they Swear or Promise any thing, in some artificial and unsuspected Sense, which They keep close to themselves, and is utterly different from that in which Those to whom they Swear or Promise do understand Them. Thus One of that Religion being ask'd by the Lord Mayor (a) *Who was Supreme Head of the Church of England?* Readily answer'd, *The King*. And being challenged by some of his Own Party for it, as having therein virtually denied the *Pope's Supremacy* ; told them, he meant the *King of Heaven*, not the *King of England*. Another denied that He was a *Priest* ; meaning a *Priest of Apollo*. And being farther questioned, (b) *Whether He had ever been beyond Sea?* Swore he had not ; understanding by the *Sea* the *Indian Ocean*, not the *British Channell*. And by the same Rule a Popish Prince may Swear, a thousand times over, to *defend and maintain the Church of England as by Law Establish'd* ; supposing (as (c) some of Them have told us) " that *Queen Elizabeth* being Illegitimate, and no rightful Queen ; all her Acts upon which the Reformed Religion is chiefly Establish'd are of no Force ; and so *Queen Mary's Statutes*, with all the Popery of them, are, of right, the *Church of England by Law Establish'd*."

But against this Sort of *Equivocation* a Cautious Person may possibly guard Himself : The Other, which consists in *Propositions*, is more dangerous, and I doubt past any Care or Skill to foreclose. They tell us that the Truth or Falshood of what they Promise, or Affirm, is to be taken from the *Whole* of what *They Intend* by it. Now of this, One Part they Express, and that you know : But the Other they keep secret within their own Minds, and what that is you may guess if you can. But so long as Both together are true, 'tis no Matter tho' what is utter'd be false, and Those to whom They speak be Deceived by it. (d) In the Time of the Plague, One of this Party went from London to Coventry : He was there Examined *Whether He came from London?* He affirmed *He did not* ; adding at the same time in his Mind, that *He came not infected with the Plague from London*. In the Time of King James the 1st, The Jesuits were very desirous that the *Pope* should set an *Arch-Priest* over the *Seculars* here in England. The Affair was negotiated by Father Standish ; Who being examined by his Holyness, (e) *Whether He transacted this Matter with the Consent of the Seculars?* Answer'd roundly that *He did* ; meaning within Himself that *He did not know but that They might consent to it*. By the same Help, a Prince may swear that *He will not endeavour to alter the Protestant Religion as by Law establish'd* ; meaning not by Force of Arms : And yet He may pack a *Parliament* to subvert it, as *Queen Mary* did ; and as another Prince, within our own Memories, would have done. Or shou'd you exclude that too, yet still He may have Other se-

(a) *Abbat. Antilog. pag. 13, 14.* (b) *Ib. p. 12.* (c) See *Father Parson's Memorial, part the 1st, chap. 10.* (d) *Crackanthorp contra Spalatens, p. 622.* Casaub. *Epist. ad Front. Duc. p. 765, &c.* (e) *Abbot. Antilog. p. 13.*

cret Reservations to deceive, which neither can all of Them be foreseen, nor is there any possible Defence to be had against Them.

But because this Doctrine (f) tho' approved by too many, is yet disallow'd by Others of the Church of Rome; Let us suppose that what is promised or sworn to Us in this Case, be without any Equivocation, or Mental Reservation, to deceive Us: Yet still,

Secondly, We cannot rely upon it, in what concerns the Interests of their Religion; Because that in such Cases They may Promise, or Swear to Us, and yet not be Obliged by what is Promised or Sworn.

Many are the Circumstances in which it has been determined by Them, that an Oath, tho' never so solemnly made, does not Oblige: I shall but barely mention some of them. (g) * If a Man Swear to another with his Mouth, but at the same time does not intend in his Mind to Swear: (h) * If He Swear inconsiderately: (i) * If what He Swears to be a Mortal, or but even a Venial Sin: (k) * If He Swears in such a Matter wherein He lay under an Antecedent Obligation, which He had not of Himself Power to dispense with: (l) * If the thing to which He Swears be such as he ought not to have Sworn to without the Pope's Leave: Or lastly, (m) * If the Person to Whom He Swears has no Right to his Faith; which is generally held to be the Case of Infidels and Hereticks, but especially in what concerns the Business of Religion. For, as (n) one of their Casuists learnedly argues, "If Faith is not to be kept with Tyrants, Pirates, and Publick Robbers, who only kill the Body; how much less with obstinate Hereticks, who destroy the Soul. Justly therefore, says He, were those Hereticks Huss and Prague burnt by the Sentence of the Council of Constance, tho' a Promise of Safety and Security had been made to Them. So little Reason have we to take their Oaths in this Case, who have freely told Us before-hand that we shall be never the better for Them!

(f) See Casaub. Epist. ad Front. Duc. p. 771. Escobar Summ. Theolog. mor. Tr. 1. Examen. 3. cap. 4. and cap. 7. pag. 73. (g) Greg. Sayr. Thes. Cas. Conf. l. 5. c. 9. n. 2. Qui Jurare non intendit non Obligatur. Escobar, Summ. Theol. Mor. Tr. 1. Exam. 3. p. 67. cap. 2. Conf. Cajet. in S. Tho. 2. 2. d. q. 89. art. 7.

(h) Can. si § Juramentum, 22. q. 4. (i) Cap. quanto de Jurejurando. 22. q. 4. & Gloss. ib. Escobar. l. c. p. 68. (k) Cap. ad nostram 21. Eod. Tit. & Cap. sicut, ib. & Cap. Venientes, ib. Which all Popish Princes are under to extirpate Hereticks, De Hereticis. c. 13. § moneantur. (l) Cap. Venientes. Eod. Tit. & Cap. Ea. ib. (m) Decret. Cap. 15. qu. 6. De Hereticis, Tit. 7. c. 16. Et Comm. Gonzalis in illud Caput. Conf. Crackanthorp contr. Spalatens. cap. 13. &c. (n) Simancha. Institut. Catholic. Tit. 46. § 52, 53, 54. Conf. Contr. Brun. de Heret. l. 3. c. 15. De Heret. c. 16. Gloss. Nota, quod ipso jure absolutus est quicunque aliquo genere obligationis tenetur astrictus Hæreticis. And therefore, the same Gloss adds that this Condition is to be understood in swearing to such Persons, "Si talis permanferit cui Communicare liceat. From all which General Rules, the Gloss upon the Canon Law, draws these farther more particular Inferences: * That an Oath made against the Canon obliges not: * That to swear against the Law, is not an Oath but Perjury, De Jurejurand cap. 21. * That those are not to be accounted Oaths, but rather Perjuries, which attempt any thing against the Interest of the Church. And therefore * Such Oaths are not to be kept, but repented of, ib. cap. 22.

It was upon this Principle that Pope (o) *Urban the VIth* annull'd the Treaties and Conventions which the *Emperor Charles the IVth*, and his Son, had made with certain of their neighbouring States and Princes, that " *All Conventions made with Hereticks, were Rash, Unlawful, and Null in Law.* And Pope (p) *Martin the Vth*, upon the same Grounds, plainly declared to *Alexander Prince of Lithuania*, who had taken the *Bohemians* into his Protection, " *that He could not oblige Himself to such Hereticks; but would be guilty of a Mortal Sin should He keep his Faith with Them.*

What these Popes defined, their *Casuits* generally agree to. " *If those who break their Faith with Men (says a late (q) Eminent Author of that Communion) are to have no Faith kept with Them, How much less those who break their Faith with the Church? This is their Doctrine: and I think the Inference on our side to be no less Plain and Conclusive, that if no Faith be to be kept with Us, then we have no Reason to rely upon their Faith; Or to have any regard to what they Promise or Swear to Us, what concerns the Business of Religion.*

I will add but one Reason more, and it is this; That tho' we could be aware of what they Swear; and that, upon their Own Principles, They should be Obliged by it; Yet still.

Thirdly, We could not depend upon their Oath for our Security, because they may Swear, and be Obliged, and (r) yet that Obligation be Dissolved, so we do not Consent to it, nay tho' we should never so solemnly Protest against it. This is a Power which the Pope assumes to Himself; And who are they that say that He cannot of right Do, what He tells He can, and we are sure He has often in fact Done.

It is a sad Story which their Own Authors relate of the Scandal which this once gave to the Enemies of our Common Faith, and of the severe, but just, Judgment of God, upon Those who were concerned in it. (s) *Uladislaus King of Hungary* made a Peace with *Amurath the IIId. Emperor of the Turks*, for ten Years. The King swore upon the Gospel, the Turk upon his *Alcoran* faithfully to observe the Treaty which they had made. This displeased the Pope, and his Warlike Legate, Cardinal *Julian*, who had put Himself at the Head of a Croisade against the Infidels. The Pope empower'd his Legate, and the Legate dissolved the Oath, which the King and his Lords had taken, to keep their Truce, and freed them from all Obligation to it. Upon

(o) *Vid. Bullam ipsam apud Crackanthorp. contr. Spalat. c. 83. p. 626.*

(p) *Vide Bzovium ad Ann. 1427. (q) Gonzales in lib. 5. decret. de Her. 16. Tom. 5. p. 202. (r) Layman Theol. moral. l. 4. tr. 3. c. 11. n. 5. De Her. 16. Gloss. See Father Walsh Hist. of the Irish Remonstrance, Address to the Catholics, p. 7, 8. To say nothing of the Bulls against K. Henry the VIII. first, and afterwards against Q. Elizabeth; It was upon this Principle that the King declared the People of France to be free from the Oath which they had made to King Henry III. and address'd to the Pope to confirm it by his Authority; See Fowlis Hist. of Romish Treasons, lib. 8. chap. 5. Decr. c. 15. q. Aquin. 220. q. 89. art. 9. Resp. ad 3. Cajetan, ib. Soto de Justit. & Jur. l. 1. q. 1. art. 9. Where the General Rule is this, In Odium Excommunicatorum sacramenta quæ illius fiunt relaxantur. (s) *Æneas Sylvius, Epist. 81. Spondan. Ant. Baron. Ad Ann. 1444. Bonfin, Dec. 3. l. 6.**

this they Invade the Enemy, who was then absent with his Forces in *Asia* and hoped, to have over-run his Country on this side, before he could possibly return to defend it. Enraged at their Perfidiousness, *Amurath* hasten back with all Speed into *Europe*; Engages the Christian Army, and was in some Danger of being utterly overthrown by it. In this Distress, He pull out of his Bosom the *Treaty of Peace* which the *Christians* had made with Him, and sworn to observe: And looking up to the Crucifix, which was carried before Them, "This, say He, O *Christ*, is the League which thy *Christians* made with me, swearing to it by thy Name. If thou be a God, avenge the Injury which They have done both to Thee and Me.

He had hardly utter'd his Words, before the Battle began to turn against Them. The King was slain: The *Cardinal*, who had been the Chief Author of this Treachery, was wounded, and escaped out of the Field; and in that Condition was stripped, and left half dead, to perish with Cold and Hunger rather than by the Hurts he had received. Scarce the third Part of the Army escaped; so that as their Own Historians observe, "God seem'd by these Events plainly to shew, that Oaths are to be kept, not only with those of the Household of Faith, but even with Them who are Enemies to it.

I shall close up this whole Debate with that instructive Remark, which One of their Own Writers made upon the Oath of *Allegiance*; that Great Subject of Dispute in the Beginning of the last Age: (t) How foolish, says, He were They (our King and Parliament) with all their Caution? They thought they had contrived an Oath with so many Circumstances, that it could not be Broken with a safe Conscience, by any Authority whatsoever. But they did not consider, that if the Pope Dissolved its Obligation, all the Ties of it (and yet One of them was, not to admit of any Dispensation, from the Pope or any Other Power whatsoever, for such a Purpose) signified nothing. I will add, continues He, what will be more Surprizing: If an Oath be declared to be Unjust, it Binds not: But this Oath has been declared by the Pope to be Unjust; and so all its Obligation vanishes into Smoke: And that Bond which so many Wise Men thought to be strong as Iron, is, in truth, weaker than Straw.

And now, let those take such Securities as these, who do not know how little the Papist makes of them; or how many ways he has to free himself from being Obligated by them. But let not us think such Ties as these to be a sufficient Caution for the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of our Country. For our own Lives, and the preservation of our Posterity. We must have some more Real Securities from them, if ever we mean to be safe: And never think our selves free from Danger, while they have it in their Power to do us a Mischief.

What has been the Spirit of those of that Religion under a Succession of Protestant Princes, you all know, and the Return of this Day speaks it to us.

What a Protestant People may expect from a Prince of that Communion God be thanked our Own History cannot much instruct us. Yet even there we read what Solemn Promises (u) Queen *Mary* made, at her first coming to the Crown, to those of King *Edward's* Religion, to maintain the profession

(t) *Paceni*, cit. a *Crack. contr. Spalat.* c. 83 p. 623. (u) *Abbot Anti-log.* cap 6. fol. 100. *Bp. Burnet's Hist. Reform.* Vol. II. pag. 237.

protestant Line ; and how much it will import us to hazard, if need be, our very Lives themselves for the defence of that Succession. A Popish Prince what ever he may profess, can never protect a Protestant People. The very Oath he should take to do this, is already declared to be *Void* and of *no Force* : And should he observe it, he would not only be Excommunicated for his Attempt, but upon persisting in it would be deprived of his Authority ; and 'tis great odds would forfeit his very Life too. This is the Law of *Rome* ; and the Greatest Princes have sometimes, to their Cost, felt the Effect of it. And to imagine that a Popish King, who knows all this, will nevertheless, venture his Crown, his Life, nay and his very Soul also, to maintain a Religion which He hates ; and which in His Conscience He believes to be Heretical and Damnable ; is such an extravagant Opinion, as will not deserve to be seriously Confuted.

There are some indeed, who against this Reasoning, plain as it is, alledge the Example of King *the Henry IVth. of France* : A Popish Prince, yet a constant and steady Defender of his Protestant Subjects. Now to allow that He was such a Protector of Them as is supposed ; Yet who does not know that He never was a real Papist in his Heart. (z) He refused to be instructed in that way, least he should but seem to change his Religion upon Conviction ; And declared to his Old Friends, that in turning Papist He sacrificed Himself for their Sakes, whom by this means He should be able the better to Support. And the *Jesuits* were so well satisfied of the Truth of this, that they resolved to make his Word Good, and Stabb'd him to the Heart for it.

And yet, after all ; Was this Great Prince so zealous a Defender of the Protestants, as to make a Reformed Nation fond of such a King ? (a) How many Years pass'd before He did any thing at all for their Security ; nay before He freed them from the Danger of the Laws and League which had been made against them ? And with what Difficulty was he brought to do it at the last ? (b) His Nephew, the *Prince of Condé*, the then next Heir to the Crown, He bred up in the Popish Way, contrary to the express Will of his Father. He would have perverted his Own Sister, and did marry Her to the *Duke of Barr*, a Prince of the Other Religion. (c) He restored the Mass, in *Bearn* from whence his Mother, with the Consent of the States, had banish'd it, thirty Years before. (d) He corrupted several Ministers, and Other leading Men of the Reformed Religion, to enter into Measures contrary to the Interests of it. (e) He would have broken the Union of their Churches by restraining the Meeting of their *National Assemblies* ; and the Liberty of their *Provincial Synods*, by sending a Deputy of his Own to be present at their Sessions. In a Word, (f) He promised to get the *Council of Trent* publish'd in *France*, which none of his Predecessors had yet done ; nor could he himself obtain the doing of it ?

(z) See *D'Aubigne Hist. Tom. 3. c. 24. Vie de Mornay, p. 198. 207.*

(a) See *D'Aubigné Tom. 3. lib. 4. c. 11. col. 500. &c. lib. 5. c. 1. col. 618. Ambassad. de du Perron. p. 156. Vie de Mornay. p. 201. &c. 206, 234. Monsieur le Vassor. Hist. de Louis XIII. lib. 2. p. 159, 167. (b) D'Aubigné Tom. 3. s. c. 3, 4. (c) Ambassades de du Perron, p. 156. 184. Vie de Mornay, p. 254. (d) D'Aubigné, Tom. 3. l. 5. c. 1. (e) Vie de Mornay, p. 304. (f) Ambassades de du Perron, p. 156. 184.*

Such a friend to the Protestants was King Henry IVth ! And such reason have we to desire the like Defender ! And yet, after all, He did what he could for them, and (to admonish other Princes to take Other Measures) He lost his life for his Kindness for them. But

And, lastly, From what has been said it appears, What good grounds we have to keep up the Solemn Return of this Day : A Day Memorable for Popish Treachery, and for the double Deliverance of our Church and Nation from the Designs of it. For if, notwithstanding these publick Occasions of Reviving in Mens Minds the Dangers of Popery, we see many as secure as if there were no Fears of it ; Others almost willing to believe Themselves, and to persuade Others, that there is no great Harm in it : How much more infencible, have we reason to fear. They would all be, were there no such *Publick Seasons* appointed to put you in Remembrance of these things, and to convince you of the Folly and Error of such Imaginations.

Be not deceived : Popery is an enemy, a Cruel, Furious, and Irreconcilable Enemy to the Reformed Religion : An Enemy not to be satisfied with any thing short of the utter Destruction of what they call the *Northern Heresy*. Look into all the Nations round about, and search, and see ; Where did it ever prevail, and the Protestant Interest not suffer by it ? And let us not think that We shall escape any all better than our Brethren abroad have done. Truth and Piety may be mild and gentle, patient and charitable : but Error and Superstition will be savage and cruel. By Scripture and Reason it cannot prevail ; and therefore it must take such other Methods as alone are able to support its Authority, Thus *Paganism* first, then *Mahometanism* did ; Thus *Popery* does ; and thus all Other the like false Religions will ever Do.

Let us then resolve to take the Caution of the Text, and *Beware of these False Prophets*. Our Religion, Our Liberties, Lives, Our Own, and our Posterity's Welfare All invite us to this Care. And that God may Crown our Endeavour with Success in it, and continue to Protect Us, as he has hitherto mercifully done, from their Devices against Us : Let us thankfully Commemorate and worthily Adore his Goodness for the many wonderful Preservations which He has already been pleased to vouchsafe Us from the Dangers of it.

That when our King and our Princes ; The Fathers of our Church, and the Great Council of the Realm ; were All devoted, as on this Day, to Destruction, and the Blow was just ready to be given ; He not only delivered Them from it, but turned the Destruction upon their Own Heads.

That when again, but a few Years since, the Interests of Popery were openly carried on, with a high Hand, against Us : He raised Us up a Glorious Defender ; Inspired Him on with Success to accomplish what He had undertaken.

That to complete our Deliverance, and to prevent any future Dangers from their unwearied Endeavours to Destroy Us, He endued that great Prince, and Parliament, with Wisdom and Resolution to settle the Succession of the Imperial Crown of this Realm in the Protestant Line : So that unless We will betray our Selves We cannot easily be overthrown by Them.

That in Consequence of this establishment, no less than by their own Undoubted Right, He has given us a most Pious, Wise, and Just Queen of Our Own Religion to succeed that Illustrious King : To be the inheritor of his Vertues, as well as of his Authority ; and to complete the Deliverance which He had wrought for Us.

That He has blessed her with such a continued Course of Eminent Successes abroad, such a Universal Honour and esteem at Home, as scarce any of Her Predecessors have ever been able to attain unto.

Long may She Live to be the Defender of our Faith, the Protector of our Laws and Liberties, The Terror of Her Enemies, the Support of Her Allies, The Delight of Mankind.

May She Reign, as She does, in the Hearts of Her Friends : and tread under Her Feet, as She has begun to do, the Necks of Her Adversaries. May Success evermore attend all Her Undertakings, for Her Own Honour, and for the Publick Good. And whensoever It shall please God to remove Her from Us, may there never be wanting a Succession of the like Pious and Renowned Princes of the Protestant Line, to Govern and Defend this Protestant Church and Realm, till Times and Ages shall be no more.

Which God of his Infinite Mercy Grant, thro, Jesus Christ our Lord : To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be Honour and Glory, Dominion and Praise, for Ever and Ever. Amen.

of it, while She needed their help to set her upon the Throne : And how well she kept those Promises after they had done it, the Infamous Cruelties of her short Reign, for the Cause of Religion, sufficiently shew.

But what we cannot learn from our Own History, we may from those [of a Neighbouring Country. How many Publick *Edicts*, and *Treaties of Peace*, where there Granted and Confirmed to those of the Reformed Religion by Three Successive Kings, *Charles I Xth*, *Henry the IIIrd*, and *Henry the IVth of France* ? With what Solemnity were they ratified, and required to be Observed by those of the Other Communion ? And what was the Issue of all these Publick Laws, and Oaths ? While the Reformed were in Power, and had Princes of the Bloud, and Others of the Highest Quality, to stand by them ; Whilst they kept the Cautionary Fortresses and Commands which had been given them for their Security ; Whilst *France* was exercised under a long succession of Civil Wars, and the Protestants were necessary to defend the Court against the Popish Leaguers, and Rebels to it ; They enjoy'd the Exercise of their Religion under the Protection of the Government. The *Edicts* published in their behalf were declared, in the proper sense of the Words, to be *Perpetual, and Irrevocable*. King *Lewis the XIIIth*, tho' he twice swore to the Observation of them ; yet, Professed he thought there was no need for him so to do, because he should otherwise have been obliged to fulfil them. Twice did the present King Solemnly Confirm the *Edict of Nantes*, and declare it to be of *perpetual Obligation*.

And yet no sooner had the Protestants lost their Chief Supporters, and started with their Cautionary Towns and Fortresses, but measures were forthwith taken for their Utter Ruin. Every Year produced some new Order or other, to restrain their Liberty, and bring them nearer to Destruction. Military Converters were let loose upon them ; And the *Mass*, or *Persecution*, was their only Choice. Till finally the very *Edict of Nantes* its self was revealed, and shewn to be no longer either *Perpetual* or *Irrevocable*. And how much they have suffered since from their hands, is too well known to need any Enlargement upon it.

This has been *Their Case* ; God grant it may never be *our Own* ! And it evidently shews, what I am now asserting to be the Truth, that *the only solid security against Popish Tyranny, is to keep the Power in our own Hands ; and not trust the Sword to those, who if ever they have an Opportunity, will not fail to cut our Throats with it.*

And this may suffice to shew, both what good reason we have to *Beware of these false Prophets* : And what is the only secure Method that a Protestant people can take for the Doing of it. I shall only draw a few remarks, by way of farther Application, from what I have now delivered, and so Conclude. And, First, from what has been said, it appears how very dangerous the principles of those of the Church of Rome are to such as differ from them ; and what a watchful Eye it will, therefore, before our Own Government to have upon them. Persecutions for Religions sake is what the Gospel of Christ teaches, that I know of, either encourages or approves. The Church of England, I am sure, has ever been an Enemy to it : And if I know my own heart, ten thousand times rather would I suffer persecution upon such an account my self, than be the Author, or Abettor of it, against Others. But we may be Cautious without being Cruel : We may be careful to defend our

selves, without doing any Injury to Others. To chain up furious Men, and not suffer them to do themselves, or others, a mischief, was never yet thought to be either Unjust or Uncharitable. This is all we need, and all that the foregoing Discourse was designed to recommend to you.

It has, I know, been pretended, in answer to what I have now asserted with relation to this matter, that these are not the *Maxims* of *All those* of the *Other Communion*. Nay, that Several of them have declared their dissent to such Principles. Let it be allow'd that there are some better Christians, than Papists, in the *Church of Rome* : Yet still it cannot be denied but that they are, without controversy, the Tenets of the much greater part ; and that is enough to convince Us of the Necessity of *Beawring of Them*. And even those who disown them, should it come to the Tryal, would not dare to Oppose what the Others should Do in pursuance of them.

When *Tir-Oen* raised a Rebellion in *Ireland*, among other questions sent to the foreign Universities to be determined with relation to the *Entreprize* this was one ; (x) "*Whether it were lawful for any of the Romish Religion to fight against him, or otherwise to assist the Queen of England in opposing of him ?*" It was answered, that it was not Lawful for them to fight against him, nor to favour the English in any way : That those who should do so could neither obtain *Eternal Salvation*, nor be Absolved from their Sin by any Priest, till they should first repent and forsake the English Army.

Let us suppose that upon any other the like occasion hereafter, Some of that Religion should have such Scruples as would not suffer them to fight against their Prince, or their Country-Men, in such a Case ; yet even they would be forced to sit still and submit to what the rest should do : And not dare to oppose their more furious Brethren, in defiance not only of the Common Good, but of an Excommunication too against themselves, as favourers of Hereticks, and Enemies to the Interest of their Church.

2dly. From the same Grounds we may see, what just reason our Governours had (y) to settle the Succession of the Imperial Crown of this Realm in the

(x) *Foulis Hist. of Romish Treason. lib. 9. c. 3. p. 491. And, in defence of Stanleys Treason against Q. Elizabeth, this was laid down for a ground in his Justification, " That in all Wars which may happen for Religion, every Catholick Man is bound in Conscience to employ his Person and Forces by the Popes direction. Important Consid. p. 72.*

(y) *The Papists have no reason to complain of this : It was their own design could they have got a Prince and Parliament of their Religion. See Parsons Memorial, Part. 3. chap. 2. " It must appertain also unto a Catholick Prince whom God shall bleis with the Crown of England, --- first of all to Assure the Succession of the Crown by Good Provision of Laws ; --- And in such manner must He link the State of Catholick Religion and Succession together, as the One may depend, and be the Assurance of the Other. To this He tell us, Card. Allen, and other Principal Persons of the Nation agree. Apol. in Defence of Eccl. Subordination in England, p. 187. col. 2. And Pope Clement the VIIIth, in his two Bulls sent to Father Garnet, exhorts the English Papists, " Ne post obitum Reginae Elizabethae, ad Angliae Sceptum tene dum suscipere, nisi Eum, quantumcunque propinquitate Sanguinis noster retur, qui Fidem Catholicam non modo Toleraret, sed omni Ope & studio promoveret ; & more majorum Jurejurando se id praestitutum, suscipere*

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